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Bombing of Hamburg in World War II

The <u>Allied</u> bombing of <u>Hamburg</u> during World War II included numerous <u>strategic bombing</u> missions and diversion/nuisance raids. As a large port and industrial centre, Hamburg's <u>shipyards</u>, <u>U-boat pens</u>, and the Hamburg-Harburg area oil refineries were attacked throughout the war.^[1]

The attack during the last week of July 1943, *Operation Gomorrah*, created one of the largest firestorms raised by the Royal Air Force and United States Army Air Forces in World War II, [2] killing 42,600 civilians and wounding 37,000 in Hamburg and virtually destroying most of the city.^[3] Before the development of the firestorm in Hamburg there had been no rain for some time and everything was very dry. [4] The unusually warm weather and good conditions meant that the bombing was highly concentrated around the intended targets and also created a vortex and whirling updraft of super-heated air which created a 460 meter high tornado of fire. Various other previously used techniques and devices were instrumental as well, such as area bombing, Pathfinders, and H2S radar, which came together to work with particular effectiveness. An early form of chaff, code named 'Window', was successfully used for the first time by the RAF - clouds of tinfoil strips dropped by Pathfinders as well as the initial bomber stream – in order to completely cloud German radar. The raids inflicted severe damage to German armaments production in Hamburg.



Artist John Martin's concept of the Biblical destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, which inspired the operation's name



Typical bomb damage in the Eilbek district of Hamburg, 1944 or 1945

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Naming

The name *Gomorrah* comes from that of one of the two Canaanite cities of <u>Sodom and Gomorrah</u> whose destruction is recorded in the <u>Bible</u>: "Then the Lord rained <u>brimstone and fire</u> on Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Lord out of the heavens." – Genesis 19:24

Significant missions

Battle of Hamburg

The Battle of Hamburg, <u>codenamed</u> *Operation Gomorrah*, was a campaign of air raids beginning 24 July 1943 and lasting for 8 days and 7 nights. It was at the time the heaviest assault in the <u>history of aerial warfare</u> and was later called the *Hiroshima of Germany* by British officials.^[5]

Until the focus of RAF Bomber Command switched to Hamburg it had been on the <u>Ruhr</u> industrial region which had been the target of <u>a five-month-long</u> campaign.

The operation was conducted by <u>RAF Bomber Command</u> (including <u>RCAF</u> and <u>RAAF</u> Squadrons) and the <u>USAAF</u> <u>Eighth Air Force</u>. The British conducted night raids and the USAAF daylight raids.



Lancaster over Hamburg, 30/31 January 1943

The initial attack on Hamburg included two new introductions to the British planning: they used "Window", otherwise known as <u>chaff</u>, to confuse the

German radar, while the Pathfinder Force aircraft, which normally kept radio silence, reported the winds they encountered, and this information was processed and relayed to the bomber force navigators.

No 35 Squadron led the target marking and, thanks to the clear weather and H2S radar navigation, accuracy was good, with markers falling close to the aiming point. On 24 July, at approximately 00:57, the first bombing started by the RAF and lasted almost an hour. The confusion caused to German radar kept losses of aircraft low. While some 40,000 firemen were available to tackle fires, control of their resources was damaged when the telephone exchange caught fire and rubble blocked the passage of fire engines through the city streets; [6] fires were still burning three days later. [7]

A second, daylight raid, by the USAAF was conducted at 16:40. It had been intended for 300 aircraft to attack Hamburg and Hanover but problems with assembling the force in the air meant that only 90 B-17 Flying Fortresses reached Hamburg. The bombers attacked the Blohm and Voss shipyard and an aero-engine factory, with German flak damaging 78 aircraft. In return the shipyard was not badly damaged and the aero-engine manufacturer could not be seen for smoke (a generating station was attacked instead). RAF Mosquitos of the Light Night Striking Force (LNSF) carried out nuisance raids to keep the city on a state of alert and delayed-action bombs from the night's raid exploded at intervals. Extra firemen were brought in from other cities including Hanover; as a result when the US bombers attacked, these firemen were in Hamburg and fires in Hanover burned unchecked.

Another attack by the RAF on Hamburg for that night was cancelled due to the problems the smoke would cause and 700 bombers raided Essen instead. Mosquitos carried out another nuisance raid.

A third raid was conducted on the morning of the 26th. The RAF night attack of 26 July at 00:20 was extremely light because of severe thunderstorms and high winds over the <u>North Sea</u>, during which a considerable number of bombers jettisoned the explosive part of their bomb loads (retaining just the incendiaries) with only two bomb drops reported. That

attack is often not counted when the total number of Operation Gomorrah attacks is given. There was no day raid on the 27th.

On the night of 27 July, shortly before midnight, [8] 787 RAF aircraft—74 Wellingtons, 116 Stirlings, 244 Halifaxes and 353 Lancasters—bombed Hamburg. [9] The unusually dry and warm weather, the concentration of the bombing in one area and firefighting limitations due to blockbuster bombs used in the early part of the raid—and the recall of Hanover's firecrews to their own city—culminated in a firestorm. The tornadic fire created a huge inferno with winds of up to 240 kilometres per hour (150 mph) reaching temperatures of 800 °C (1,470 °F) and altitudes in excess of 300 metres (1,000 ft), incinerating more than 21 square kilometres (8 sq mi) of the city. Asphalt streets burst into flame, and fuel oil from damaged and destroyed ships, barges and storage tanks spilled into the water of the canals and the harbour, causing them to ignite as well. The majority of deaths attributed to Operation Gomorrah occurred on this night. A large number of those killed died seeking safety in bomb shelters and cellars, the firestorm consuming the oxygen in the burning city above. The furious winds created by the firestorm had the power to sweep people up off the streets like dry leaves:

Some people who tried to walk along, they were pulled in by the fire, they all of the sudden disappeared right in front of you (...) You have to save yourself or try to get as far away from the fire, because the draught pulls you in.

On the night of 29 July, Hamburg was again attacked by over 700 RAF aircraft. A planned raid on 31 July was cancelled due to thunderstorms over the UK.^[11] The last raid of Operation Gomorrah was conducted on 3 August.

Operation Gomorrah killed 42,600 people, left 37,000 wounded and caused some one million German civilians to flee the city. [3] The city's labour force was reduced by ten percent. [3] Approximately 3,000 aircraft were deployed, 9,000 tons of bombs were dropped and over 250,000 homes and houses were destroyed. No subsequent city raid shook Germany as did that on Hamburg; documents show that German officials were thoroughly alarmed and there is some indication from later Allied interrogations of Nazi officials that Hitler stated that further raids of similar weight would force Germany out of the war. The industrial losses were severe: Hamburg never recovered to full production, only doing so in essential armaments industries (in which maximum effort was made). [12] Figures given by German sources indicate that 183 large factories were destroyed out of 524 in the city and 4,118 smaller factories out of 9,068 were destroyed. Other losses included damage to or destruction of 580 industrial concerns and armaments works, 299 of which were important enough to be listed by name. Local transport systems were completely disrupted and did not return to normal for some time. Dwellings destroyed amounted to 214,350 out of 414,500. [13] Hamburg was hit by air raids another 69 times before the end of World War II. In total, the RAF dropped 22,580 long tons of bombs on Hamburg. [14]

Aftermath

Cityscape

The totally destroyed quarter of <u>Hammerbrook</u>, in which mostly <u>port workers</u> lived, was not rebuilt as a housing area but as a commercial area. The adjoining quarter of <u>Rothenburgsort</u> shared the same fate, as only a small area of housing was rebuilt. The underground line which connected these areas with the central station was not rebuilt either.

In the destroyed residential areas many houses were rebuilt across the street and therefore do not form connected blocks anymore. The hills of the Öjendorfer Park are formed by the debris of destroyed houses.^[15]

In January 1946, Major Cortez F. Enloe, a surgeon in the USAAF who worked on the <u>United States Strategic Bombing Survey</u> (USSBS), said that the fire effects of the <u>atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki</u> "were not nearly as bad as the effects of the R.A.F. raids on Hamburg on July 27th 1943". He estimated more than 40,000 people died in Hamburg.^[16]

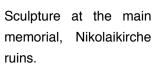
"It was quite a surprise to us when the first Hamburg raid took place because you used some <u>new device</u> which was preventing the anti-aircraft guns to find your bombers, so you had a great success and you repeated these attacks on Hamburg several times and each time the new success was greater and the depression was larger, and I have said, in those days, in a meeting of the <u>Air Ministry</u>, that if you would repeat this success on four or five other German towns, then we would collapse." – <u>Albert Speer</u> – <u>The Secret War</u>

Memorials

Several memorials in Hamburg are reminders of the air raids during World War II:

- The ruins of the Nikolaikirche (St. Nicholas Church), which was largely destroyed during the bombing, have been made into a memorial against war. The spire of the church survived the attacks.
- Memorial at the Hamburger Strasse a memorial for those who died in a shelter under the Karstadt department store
 at the corner of Desenißstrasse and Hamburger Strasse. The department store was hit by a bomb on the night of 29
 July. The people in the air raid shelter below were killed by the heat and carbon monoxide poisoning.
- The victims of the air raids were buried on the Ohlsdorf Cemetery in mass graves. The memorial "Passage over the Styx" by Gerhard Marcks is in the center and shows how Charon ferries a young couple, a mother with her child, a man and a despairing person over the river Styx.
- Many houses rebuilt after World War II show a memorial plaque with the inscription "Destroyed 1943 19** Rebuilt " as a reminder of their destruction during the air raids in July 1943.







Sculpture Prayer for Peace at the Nikolaikirche (Edith Breckwoldt, 2001).



for Plaque on a Hamburg the house says, "Destroyed lith 1943 * 1957 rebuilt"

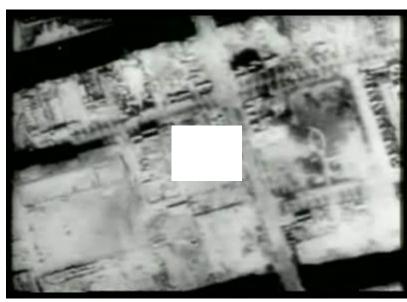


Memorial to the victims of the Hamburg bombings on Hamburger Strasse. [a]



Memorial *Passage over* the Styx at the Ohlsdorf Cemetery.

Timeline



Film footage of the bombing of Hamburg

Raids on Hamburg during Second World War

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
night of 10/11 September 1939	leaflets	⊙ 10 RAF aircraft. ^[17]
night 17/18 May 1940	oil installations	
night 27/28 May 1940	oil refineries	⊙ Hampdens attacked oil refineries near Hamburg. ^[18]
night 30/31 May1940	oil refineries	⊙ Hamburg oil refineries were bombed. ^[18]
June-October 1940		
night 20/21 October 1940		• Hamburg bombed by Wellingtons which started 12 fires with little loss of life. [19]
night 24/25 October 1940		• Hamburg bombed by Wellingtons which started 13 fires with little loss of life. [19]
nights of 15/16 November and 16/17 November 1940		over 200 aircraft. On the first night damage was caused to the Blohm & Voss shipyard and over 60 fires were started. On the second night only 60 aircraft found their target and damage was far less. [b][20]
night of 12/13 March 1941		
The night of 13/14 March 1941		⊙ 51 people were killed, the highest number in a single raid to date ^[21]
April 1941		Ouring this month Hamburg was a main target. [21]
May 1941		• Hamburg was bombed several times during the month. Raids now usually contained about 100 bombers. [22]
The night of 11/12 May 1941		⊙ 92 aircraft. ^[22]
The night of 27/28 June 1941		
night of 14/15 January 1942		● 95 aircraft. Only 48 aircraft claimed to have bombed Hamburg. Altona station was hit and 12 fires, 7 of them large ones, were started. Six people killed and 22 injured. No aircraft reported lost. [23]
night of 15/16 January 1942		● 96 aircraft. 52 bombers claimed to have bombed Hamburg successfully. 36 fires started 3 of which were large, 3 people killed and 25 injured. 11 Bombers lost. [23]
night of 17/18 January 1942		⊙ Bremen was the main target for 83 aircraft, but Hamburg was bombed as a secondary target causing 11 fires and casualties of 5 dead and 12 injured in Hamburg. Four bombers lost. [23]
night of 16/17 February 1942		one or two bombers. ^[24]

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
night of 8/9 April 1942		olargest raid to date on a single target. Carried out by 272 aircraft. Raid was considered a failure. 17 people were killed and 119 injured. 5 planes lost. [25]
The night of 17/18 April 1942		
The night of 3/4 May 1942		
night of 26/27 July 1942		● 403 aircraft. Widespread damage was caused, mostly in housing and semi-commercial districts rather than in the docks and industrial areas. At least 800 fires started, 523 of which were large. 823 houses were destroyed and more than 5,000 damaged. More than 14,000 people were bombed out. 337 people were killed and 1,027 injured. 29 aircraft were lost, 7.2% of the force. [27]
night of 28/29 July 1942		
day of 3 August 1942		o 10 aircraft. ^[28]
day of 18 August 1942	nuisance raid	o single Mosquito.[28]
day of 19 September 1942	nuisance raid	
night of 13/14 October 1942		olight secondary target raid. 2 large fires were started. 8 people were killed and 43 injured. [30]
night of 9/10 November 1942		
night of 30/31 January 1943		
night of 3/4 February 1943		
The night of 3/4 March 1943		• 417 aircraft. The Pathfinders marked the wrong target, mistaking a mud bank for the docks with their H2S radar, so most of the bombs landed 13 miles downstream from the centre of Hamburg, around the small town of Wedel. Those bombs which landed on Hamburg did considerable damage starting 100 fires, killing 27 people and injuring 95. The damage to Wedel was extensive. 10 aircraft lost, 2.4% of the force. [34]
13/14 April 1943	nuisance raid	o 2 Mosquitoes. ^[35]
25 June 1943	Blohm & Voss	Mission Number 67: 275 B-17 are to attack submarine pens and industrial areas of Hamburg and Bremen, but the primary targets are obscured by cloud so the bombers hit 167 bomb "targets of opportunity in NW Germany". [36] The 384th Bombardment Group of the USAAF are involved in the attack of an initial 19 aircraft, 11 aborted the mission and only 5 joined the combat wing. [37]

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
night of 26/27 June 1943	nuisance raid	
night of 28/29 June 1943	nuisance raid	
night of 3/4 July 1943	nuisance raid	
night of 5/6 July 1943	nuisance raid	
night of 24/25 July 1943	large raid	O 791 Halifaxes and Lancasters marked the opening of the "Battle of Hamburg" or so called "Operation Gomorrah raid". A countermeasure against the radar-directed German nightfighters in the form of "Window" was used for the first time. In the clear weather visual and H2S marking was accurate and on the town centre. 728 aircraft dropped their bombs in 50 minutes. Less than half the force bombed within 3 miles of the centre with a bomb creepback of six miles. Damage was caused in the central and north-western districts, particularly in Altona, Eimsbüttel and Hoheluft. The Rathaus (Town Hall), the St. Nikolai church, the main police station, the main telephone exchange and the Hagenbeck Zoo were among the well-known landmarks to be hit. About 1,500 people were killed which was the largest outside the range of the "Oboe" radio navigation system which helped to concentrate the bombing pattern. Thanks to the use of Window only 12 aircraft were lost, 1.5% of the force. [9][39]
25 July 1943 16:40	Blohm & Voss	Mission Number 76. It is planned that 123 B-17 will bomb the diesel engine works at Hamburg but due to cloud cover, 100 planes from the 91st, 351st, 381st (= 1st combat wing), 303rd, 379th, 384th bomb group (= 41st combat wing) bomb the shipyards in a 15-minute period starting at 16:30. 15 B-17's are lost, and American casualties are 1 killed five wounded and 150 missing. [40][41]
26 July 1943	Blohm & Voss	Mission Number 77. 121 B-17's dispatched against Hanover (54) and the U-boat yards at Hamburg between 11:59 and 12:00 (71).
The night of 26/27 July 1943	nuisance raid	
night of 27/28 July 1943	Large raid	
night of 28/29	nuisance raid	o 4 Mosquitoes. ^[9]

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
night of 29/30 July 1943	Large raid	
night of 2/3 August 1943		⊙ 740 aircraft dispatched on a raid to Hamburg but bad weather stopped all but a few bombers reaching Hamburg; many bombed secondary targets instead. 30 aircraft, 4.1% of the force was lost. [45]
night of 22/23 August 1943	nuisance raid	⊙ 6 Mosquitoes. ^[46]
night of 5/6 November 1943		• Hamburg and other cities raided by a total of 26 Mosquitoes. [47]
night of 1/2 January 1944	diversionary raid (Berlin)	
night of 11/12 March 1944	nuisance raid	o 20 Mosquitoes. ^[49]
night of 6/7 April 1944		⊙ 35 Mosquitoes. ^[50]
night of 26/27 April 1944	diversionary raid	⊙ 16 Mosquitoes. ^[50]
night of 28/29 April 1944		o 26 Mosquitoes. ^[50]
18 June 1944	oil refineries	Mission 421: B-17s bombed Hamburg-Ebano (18), Hamburg-Eurotank (54), Hamburg-Ossag (38), and Hamburg-Schindler (36). [51] a Battle of the Ruhr mission (including the 92 BG)
20 June 1944	oil refineries	Mission 425: B-17s bombed oil refineries at Hamburg/Deut.Petr.AG (53), Harburg/Ebano (60), Hamburg/Eurotank (107), Hamburg/Rhenania-Ossag (50), Harburg/Rhenania (53), Hamburg/Schliemanns (54), and Hamburg/Schindler (26).[51]
night of 22/23 June 1944	diversionary raid	o 29 Mosquitoes. ^[52]
night of 22/23 July 1944	diversionary raid	
night of 26/27 July 1944	diversionary raid	⊙ 30 Mosquitoes. ^[53]
night of 29/29 July 1944		⊙ 307 aircraft. The raid was not a success, the bombing was scattered and German sources estimated that only 120 bombers landed their load on the city. 22 aircraft were lost mainly to night fighters. [53]
4 August 1944	oil refineries	Mission 514: 181 B-17s bombed Hamburg refineries.
6 August 1944	oil refineries	Mission 524: Hamburg oil refineries bombed at Hamburg/Deutsche (54), Hamburg/Eband [sic] (33), Hamburg/Rhenania (61), Hamburg/Rhenania-Ossag (62), Hamburg/Schlieman (32), and Hamburg/Schulau (72 B-17s). [54] Rhenania-Ossag was a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Shell.
night of 26/27 August 1944	diversionary nuisance raid	o 13 Mosquitoes. ^[55]

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
night of 29/30 August 1944	diversionary nuisance raid	⊙ Hamburg was one of five cities bombed by a total of 53 Mosquitoes. ^[55]
night of 6/7 September 1944	nuisance raid	⊙ 32 Mosquitoes. ^[56]
night of 26/27 September 1944	diversionary nuisance raid	⊙ 6 Mosquitoes. ^[56]
night of 30/1 October 1944		
6 October 1944	oil refinery (Harburg/Rhenania)	Mission 667: 121 of 406 dispatched B-24s bombed the Harburg/Rhenania oil refinery. [58]
night of 12/13 October 1944		⊙ 52 Mosquitoes. ^[57]
25 October 1944	oil refineries	Mission 688: 455 B-17s dispatched to hit the Harburg (221, including those of the 447th BG)and Rhenania oil refineries (214) at Hamburg. 297 B-17s dispatched to hit the primary hit secondaries, Harburg (179) and Rhenania oil refineries (106) at Hamburg.(cloud cover limited accuracy, devastigation of Harburg city) ^{[58][59]}
30 October 1944	oil refineries	Mission 693: 357 B-24s are dispatched to hit the Harburg oil refinery (72) and Rhenania oil refinery (67) at Hamburg, 28 bomb Hamburg targets of opportunity. [58]
4 November 1944	oil refinery	Mission 700: 257 B-17s are dispatched to hit the Harburg oil plant at Hamburg (238), 186 of 193 B-17s hit the Rhenania oil plant at Hamburg. [60]
5 November 1944	ordnance depots	US Ninth (Tactical) Air Force: send 160 B-26s and A-20s to attack ammunition, ordnance, and supply depots in Hamburg. [60]
6 November 1944	oil refineries	Mission 704: 291 B-17s are dispatched to hit the Harburg (142) and Rhenania (138) oil refineries at Hamburg. [60]
night of 11/12 November 1944	oil refineries	
21 November 1944	oil refineries	Mission 720: 366 B-24s are sent to hit the Dpag (178) and Rhenania (171) oil plants at Hamburg.(cloud cover limited accuracy, devastigation of Harburg city) ^{[60][62]}
night of 30/1 December 1944	diversionary raid	⊙ 53 Mosquitoes. ^[63]
night of 11/12 December 1944		
night of 27/28 December 1944	nuisance raid	⊙ 7 Mosquitoes hit Hamburg-Wandsbek and -Barmbek at 3 am. [63][64]
31 December 1944	Blohm & Voss	Mission 772: 526 B-17s are dispatched to hit oil industry targets at Hamburg (68), the Wilhelmsburg refinery at Harburg (92), the Grassbrook refinery at Hamburg (71) and the industrial area at Hamburg (72). [65]
night of 16/17 January 1945	diversionary nuisance raid	

Date	Target/Type	Roundel and notes
24 February 1945	Blohm & Voss	The 384 BG bombed the Hamburg submarine yards.
24 February 1945	oil refineries	Mission 845: 362 B-17s are sent to hit the Albrecht 278 and Harburg 70 oil refineries at Hamburg. [67]
5 March 1945	oil refinery	Mission 865: 120 of 126 B-24s hit the Harburg oil refinery at Hamburg without loss. [68]
8/9 March 1945	Blohm & Voss	312 aircraft, including those of the No. 466 Squadron RAAF, bombed Blohm & Voss to destroy the type XXI U-boats (cloud cover limited accuracy). [69]
10 March 1945	Blohm & Voss	⊙ The No. 466 Squadron RAAF bombed Blohm & Voss. [69]
11 March 1945	oil refinery	Mission 881: 469 of 485 B-17s bomb the Wilhelmsburg oil refinery at Hamburg; one other hits a target of opportunity; one B-17 is lost and 41 damaged; 3 airmen are wounded and 10 are missing in action. [68]
20 March 1945	shipyards, docs and oil installations	Mission 898: 451 bombers and 355 fighters are dispatched to bomb the shipyard and dock area at Hamburg and an oil refinery. All the targets were bombed including the Blohm & Voss U-boat yard. [68]
night of 21/22 March 1945	oil refinery (Erdölwerke)	o 159 aircraft put the refinery out of action for the rest of the war. ^[69]
30 March 1945	oil depot	Mission 918: 530 B-17s are sent to bomb 2 U-boat yards oil depot at Hamburg. 64 bomb the yards and 169 the depot. 263 bomb the port area at Hamburg (the secondary target) and one bombs Bremen (a target of opportunity). Bombing is both visual and using H2X radar. [68]
night of 30/31 March 1945		o raid by 43 Mosquitoes. ^[69]
day of 31 March 1945	Blohm & Voss	
night of 2/3 April 1945	nuisance raid	<u>o</u> 1 Mosquito. ^[70]
8 April 1945	U-boat yard	A DISNEY mission: 22 of 24 B-17s bomb the Finkenwarder U-boat yard at Hamburg without loss. [71]
night of 8/9 April 1945	shipyard	
day of 9 April 1945	oil storage	o 57 Lancasters of No. 5 Group RAF attacked oil-storage tanks (40 aircraft) and U-boat shelters (17 aircraft of No. 617 "Dambuster" Squadron with Grand Slams and Tallboy bombs). Both attacks were successful. 2 Lancasters were lost from the raid on the oil tanks.[70]
night of 9/10 April 1945	diversionary raid	o 24 Mosquitoes. ^[70]
The night of 13/14 April 1945	diversionary raid	● 87 Mosquitoes. ^[70]

Notes

- a. Memorial inscription reads: "On the night of 29 July 1943, 370 persons perished in the air-raid shelter on the Hamburgerstrasse in a bombing raid. Remember these dead. Never again fascism. Never again war".
- b. These two nights of bombing were only 24 hours after a very large raid by the German Luftwaffe on <u>Coventry</u> on the night of 14/15 November 1940. However the raid must have been planned more than 24 hours in advance, so although these raids are often stated to be revenge attacks, it is unlikely that they were planned to be so.
- 1. Levine 1992, p. 149.
- 2. Dyson 2006.
- 3. Frankland & Webster 1961, pp. 260-261.
- 4. RAF staff 2005a.
- 5. NA staff 2009.
- 6. Wilson 2005, p. 250.
- 7. Wilson 2005, p. 252.
- 8. Bahnsen & Stürmer, p. 41.
- 9. RAF staff 2005, Jul 43 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/jul43.html).
- Time Witness Ursula Gray in "Volume 21: Nemesis", <u>The World at War</u> Produced and Directed by Martin Smith, Written by Stuart Hood, Narrator: Laurence Olivier – <u>Thames Television</u> London (UK) 1973–1974, released on Video 13-6-1995
- 11. Wilson 2005, p. 270.
- 12. Frankland & Webster 1961, p. 261.
- 13. Frankland & Webster 1961, p. 262.
- 14. "Target Analysis: Tonnage of Bombs Dropped and Number of Sea Mines Laid by R.A.F. Bomber Command: Monthly from September, 1939, to May, 1945" (http://www.flightglobal.com/pdfarchive/view/1945/1945%20-%201571.html). Flight: 154. 9 August 1945. Retrieved 10 September 2016.
- 15. Pauls 2006.
- 16. "News in Brief" (http://www.flightglobal.com/pdfarchive/view/1946/1946%20-%200061.html). Flight: 33. 10 January 1946.
- 17. RAF staff 2005, Sep-Dec 39 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary1939.html).
- 18. RAF staff 2005, The Battle of France (May–Jun 1940) (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary_france.html)
- 19. RAF staff 2005, The Battle of Britain (June–October 1940) (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/2007070601193 2/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary_bob.html)
- 20. RAF staff 2005, Jul-Dec 40 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary1940 2.html).
- 21. RAF staff 2005, Jan-Apr 41 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary1941_1.html).
- 22. RAF staff 2005, May-Aug 41 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/diary1941 2.html).
- 23. RAF staff 2005, Jan 42 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/jan42.html).
- 24. RAF staff 2005, Apr 42 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/apr42.html).
- 25. RAF staff 2005, Apr 42 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/apr42.html).
- 26. RAF staff 2005, May 42 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/may42.html).

- 27. RAF staff 2005, Jul 42 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/jul42.html).
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- 32. RAF staff 2005, Jan 43 (http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20070706011932/http://www.raf.mod.uk/bombercommand/jan43.html).
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External links

- An eyewitness account (https://web.archive.org/web/20101003105517/http://www.seniorennet-hamburg.de/zeitzeugen/vergessen/english/klank1_eng.htm)
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External video

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